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### Hyphenated Identities and Acculturation: Second-Generation Chinese of Canada and The Netherlands

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# Hyphenated Identities and Acculturation: Second-Generation Chinese of Canada and The Netherlands

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This research used a mixed-methods approach to compare the meanings of hyphenated identities in terms of acculturation attitudes across the 2nd generation Chinese of Canada and The Netherlands. The authors conducted two studies: (a) a statistical analysis of the acculturation correlates of hyphenated identity and (b) a discourse analysis of the construction of hyphenated identities in relation to contrast categories. Statistically, the hyphenated position did not correspond to an integrated acculturation profile; discursively, Canadian-Chinese and Dutch-Chinese were accountable positions constructed in relation to national categories. The civic discourse of being Canadian appeared to be more supportive of hyphenated identities. The authors concluded that research gains from combining different perspectives on identity, both as inner psychological constructs and as relational discursive positions.

Questions related to acculturation are central to the study of identity among minority group members. The current mixed-methods research (Creswell, 2003; Tashakkori & Creswell, 2007) was designed to investigate hyphenated identities as aspects of acculturation among the second-generation Chinese of Canada and The Netherlands. It first tested the relation between identity and acculturation attitudes using a quantitative approach. Specifically, the question addressed was whether a hyphenated identity (e.g., Chinese-Canadian, Chinese-Dutch) implies an inte-

grated acculturation profile. Hyphenated identities and acculturation can be examined in terms of attitudes or other mental dispositions. Psychological research has produced valuable findings on acculturation and identity, and it is clearly important to understand the cognitive and emotional correlates of cultural change and adaptation.

This type of research, however, does not tell us much about how people actually define and negotiate their identity in everyday life. Therefore, the second study added to the quantitative findings and involves the idea that identities can also be examined as relational and accountable subject positions (Bhatia, 2002; Bhatia & Ram, 2001; Davies & Harré, 1990; Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, & Cain, 1998). This perspective leads to an analysis of discourse models (Gee, 2005) used in the construction of these hyphenated identities. Acculturation and identity positions can be treated as discourses concerning national and ethnic self-definitions, and they can substantiate quantitative findings, suggesting differences between the acculturation dynamics of European countries (i.e., The Netherlands) versus those of traditional immigration countries (i.e., Canada).

The purpose of the present research was to verify and explain the differences between hyphenated identities as aspects of acculturation in the two countries under study. The central question was whether a hyphenated identity corresponds to an integrated acculturation profile in both the Chinese communities of Canada and The Netherlands and how the situated meanings of these identities differ between the two national contexts. What renders the comparison of hyphenated identities relevant in the two countries is the manner in which the national identities have been predominantly understood. Rudmin (2006) pointed out that acculturation theory has been developed in Canada and predominantly tested in traditional immigration countries (e.g., Canada, the United States, Australia). These countries cannot claim a common imagined ancestry, but rather they share experiences of immigration that subsequent generations of immigrants can use to validate their membership. In addition, as a confederate state and a settler country with a strong ideology of multiculturalism, Canada has a civic understanding of nationhood that incorporates cultural diversity (Bloemraad, Korteweg, & Yurdakul, 2008). Thus, it can be argued that adopting a hyphenated identity corresponds to the country's national self-understanding.

As opposed to the North American and Australian societies founded on immigration and ethnic diversification, symbolic cultural homogeneity has been an important contributor to nationhood and national identities in Europe (Phalet & Kasic, 2006). The Netherlands is no exception; it has been known for its tolerance of cultural diversity, but in the past decade, a public discourse and a policy of cultural assimilation has developed, together with more difficult naturalization procedures (Joppke, 2004; Vasta, 2007). It can be argued that this more assimilative policy and ideology complicates the adoption of a hyphenated identity by minority groups.

## HYPHENATED IDENTITIES AND ACCULTURATION THEORY

Acculturation theorists have associated hyphenated identities with integrated acculturation profiles (Berry, 2002, 2005). Acculturation theory proposes a bidimensional framework of cultural change among immigrants, taking into account their orientation toward both the maintenance of minority culture and social contact with the majority group. The framework outlines four acculturation profiles, namely *separation* with an emphasis on cultural maintenance and low contact; *assimilation* with high levels of contact and low cultural maintenance; *integration* with high scores on both dimensions; and last, *marginalization* with neither contact nor cultural maintenance.

Changes in self-definition and identification are considered a salient aspect of the acculturation process, and Berry (2002, p. 30, *italics original*) argues that: “*an ethnic and cultural identity is related to a preference for separation, a national identity predicts assimilation, a combination of both identities (e.g., as in a hyphenated identity such as Greek-Canadian) predicts integration, and no clear identity predicts marginalization.*” Thus, integration and hyphenated identities are viewed as being related. However, the relation between acculturation profiles and identities could differ between national contexts.

The assumed correspondence between the process of acculturation and self-identification seems questionable in European societies. Hutnik (1991) developed a bidimensional model of self-identification, using *identification with the majority* and *the minority group* as separate dimensions. She found that in the United Kingdom, there is only a moderate relation between acculturation and self-identification. Studying the Chinese in The Netherlands, Verkuyten and Kwa (1996) found two dominant identity positions (ethnic and hyphenated) that were only weakly correlated with acculturation attitudes. A further cross-national study of 7,000 adolescents in 13 countries documented negative correlations between the ethnic and national identities of many minority groups in Europe, but not in traditional immigration countries (Phinney, Berry, Vedder, & Liebkind, 2006). Snauwaert, Soenens, Vanbeselaere, and Boen (2003) also found differences in the distribution of acculturation profiles among Belgian minority groups, depending on the conceptualization of acculturation—whether it involved self-identification or cultural adaptation. As Hutnik had concluded, Snauwaert et al. remarked that self-identification depicted a different picture of immigrant integration, insofar as ethnic identities endured even after considerable cultural adaptation occurred.

Our first study used statistical methods for the following purposes: (a) to test the correspondence between acculturation profiles and self-identification across national contexts and (b) to compare the latent structure that characterizes acculturation attitudes among participants who adopted hyphenated identities. It could be expected that the integrated acculturation profile will not correspond with hyphen-

ated self-identification in The Netherlands because of the more ethnic understanding of the national identity, whereas it could fit in Canada, where the civic national identity allows for diverse cultural heritage. Because of these differences in the meanings of national identities, it is also expected that the measurement structure of acculturation attitudes varies across the hyphenated cases of the two settings.

## RELATIONAL AND ACCOUNTABLE IDENTITIES

In contrast to the mainstream cross-cultural view of acculturation and identity that emphasizes psychological dispositions, some scholars have re-examined these concepts in terms of flexible social positions (e.g., Bhatia, 2002; Bhatia & Ram, 2001). The need to explore the complex and negotiated meanings of hyphenated identities has also been shown empirically (e.g., Kibria, 2000; Song, 2003; Verkuyten & de Wolf, 2002). A quantitative categorization of people in one of the four acculturation positions has its limitations because self-definitions are often neither self-evident nor consistent, let alone readily accepted by others. The emphasis on negotiated meanings is also stressed in the theoretical literature on “Chineseness” and identity negotiations in overseas Chinese communities (e.g., Ang, 2001; Chow, 1998; Lee, 2003; Louie, 2004; Wu, 1994). Two central claims can be identified in this literature: first, identities are relational such that people always define themselves in dialogue or in contrast with others; second, self-definitions are normatively accountable.

As a result of the relational nature of identities, self-definitions refer to what people conceive of themselves, or which category they belong to, intrinsically implying a conception of “others.” Minority group members can choose a variety of referents in comparing and defining themselves, but the difference with the majority group is typically important and has implications for self-definitions (e.g., Tan, 2004; Verkuyten, 2005). Djao (2003) gathered the narratives of Chinese individuals overseas living in a variety of countries, including Canada and The Netherlands, with a focus on the meanings of being Chinese in non-Chinese societies. Her research documents the dialogical and fluid nature of identities, and the centrality of being Chinese, although practiced in limited ways by participants who emphasize their full membership in non-Chinese societies. Leung (2003) collected narratives about notions of home and identity among overseas Chinese in Germany. The difficulties encountered in claiming Germany as one’s home illustrate the construction of the Chinese there as excluded from belonging to the national group.

Studies about the descendents of Chinese immigrants in the United States and beyond reveal the normative challenges associated with claiming belonging to both ethnic and national groups. Kibria (2000) conducted research with second-generation Chinese-Americans and Korean-Americans who reported the im-

plicit “foreignness” attributed to Asian physical characteristics (see also Cheryan & Monin, 2005). Tuan (1999) conducted interviews with subsequent generations of Japanese and Chinese in California. She rendered the enduring aspect of being considered as neither real Americans nor real Asians for the descendents of Asian migrants. Louie (2004) argued that Chinese-Americans define themselves along hybrid blends of Chinese and American culture in a way that it is difficult to legitimize as either, and they may feel forced to choose between identities or be left feeling inauthentic. A study among Chinese people in The Netherlands shows that three different discourse models are used to provide an account for hyphenated self-definitions (Verkuyten & de Wolf, 2002). The discourses used by the Chinese participants contained arguments, first, about being Chinese in the physical appearance that attests to a Chinese ancestry; second, about feeling Chinese through socialization into Chinese families; and third, about doing Chinese by possessing critical attributes of Chinese culture.

Our second study aimed to expand the first by providing an analysis of the discourse models (Gee, 2005) used by participants in constructing and negotiating hyphenated identities. Semi-structured interviews were conducted, and the discourses of participants who self-identify with both their ethnic and national groups should shed light on the complexity of their position. Given the relational and accountable nature of identities, mainstream definitions of the national identities in both contexts were expected to have an impact on respondents’ ability to adopt and justify hyphenated identities. Specifically, we expected that a hyphenated position would be more common and acceptable in Canada than in The Netherlands.

## METHOD

As a reflection of China’s cultural diversity, Chinese communities in both national contexts are culturally and linguistically diverse. Descendents of immigrants from Hong Kong, Guangdong, and from Zhejiang Province can be found in both The Netherlands (Li, 1999; Pieke & Benton, 1998) and in Canada (Chan, 1991). The estimated number of people of Chinese ethnicity living in The Netherlands by the end of the 1990s was 100,000, according to the Chinese Embassy in The Netherlands (Li, 1999). Given that Canada is such a large country, a description of the city of Montreal where the research was conducted provides a more adequate picture of the context of research. In the 2006 Canadian Census, Statistics Canada reported that 82,600 people who self-identified as ethnically Chinese lived in Montreal. Although Montreal is in a French-speaking province, the 2006 Census showed that nearly one third of the population has English (425,000 people) or an unofficial language (760,000 people) as a mother tongue. So given the cultural diversity of the city, immigrants can choose to integrate various communities not unlike other large cities in Canada.



## Study 1

For the quantitative analysis, the data set consists of a convenience sample of 150 Dutch respondents of Chinese descent who filled in a questionnaire about ethnic and national identity issues. The same questionnaire was translated into English and French and completed by a matched (in terms of age, age at migration, gender, and education) sample of 90 Canadians of Chinese descent.<sup>1</sup> All participants included in the study were young adults and members of the second generation; that is, they were either born in the host country or had immigrated before 10 years of age. Of course, there is some arbitrariness in choosing 10 years of age as the definition of the second generation, but having received only limited training in Chinese schools has an important effect on the Chinese literacy of respondents and appeared to be a relevant distinction during fieldwork.

In both countries, self-identification was measured with the “Moreno question.” This question is widely used in survey research and also has been found to be a reliable and valid measure in the Dutch context (e.g., Entzinger & Dourleijn, 2008; Phalet, van Lotringen, & Entzinger, 2000; Verkuyten & Kwa, 1996). With this question, the participants were asked, “How do you feel predominantly: 1) only Chinese, 2) mainly Chinese, 3) both Chinese and Canadian/Dutch, 4) mainly Canadian/Dutch, 5) only Canadian/Dutch, 6) not really Chinese and not really Canadian/Dutch.” Only two respondents identified with a single identity, only Chinese or only Canadian/Dutch, so these categories were merged with the mainly Chinese and mainly Canadian/Dutch responses, respectively, to facilitate analysis. In addition, 11 participants in The Netherlands and 5 in Canada were excluded for choosing neither identity, given that their background included a history of remigration offering other possibilities of national identification.

We measured acculturation attitudes toward cultural maintenance and social contact with these respective statements: “I find it important to maintain my Chinese culture as much as possible” and “I find it important to have many Dutch friends/Canadian friends who do not have a Chinese background.” Given that being Canadian does not necessarily exclude people of various ethnicities, the lack of Chinese background had to be specified in the Canadian context, otherwise it was unclear to respondents that we implied Canadians of other ethnic backgrounds. For both questions, we used 7-point Likert-type scales ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

We first carried out categorical data analysis to describe differences in self-identification across national contexts. Then, a two-way categorical data analysis was fitted to assess whether self-identification coincided with the acculturation profiles as predicted by acculturation theorists, namely that hyphenated iden-

<sup>1</sup>We used countries as units of analysis because respondents were highly mobile, and most of them had lived in various cities of the two countries.

tification implies an integrated acculturation profile. After acculturation research, the four acculturation profiles were formed with two binary variables (high-low) for minority cultural maintenance, and social contact with the majority group. Snauwaert et al. (2003) used the middle of the scale to create arbitrary binary variables, and this method was first reproduced in our analysis. Subsequently, all possible cutpoints were fitted in order to obtain optimal fit and give as much credit as possible to the predictions of acculturation theory. If acculturation theorists prove right in associating self-identification with acculturation profiles, all the respondents should end up on the diagonal of the two-way table, such that ethnic identities are associated with separation, national identities with assimilation, marginal identities with marginalization, and most importantly, hyphenated identities are associated with integrated acculturation profiles. Optimal cutpoints thus correspond to the binary variables of acculturation attitudes yielding the highest percentage on the diagonal.

As an additional analysis of the meanings of hyphenated identities, we selected the individuals who adopted a hyphenated identity, and we carried out a comparison of the measurement structure of their acculturation attitudes across contexts. We computed acculturation attitudes with additional items for this analysis. Social contact was defined as having friends in both the majority and minority group, and cultural maintenance included maintenance of minority culture and adoption of the culture of the majority group, similarly to the adoption conceptualization suggested by Bourhis, Moïse, Perrault, and Senécal (1997) and Snauwaert et al. (2003). We measured the two additional items with 7-point Likert-type scales ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*): "I find it important to have many friends of Chinese background" and "I find it important to adopt Canadian/Dutch culture as much as possible." The analysis consisted, first, of comparing the correlation structures of the two samples for the variables of interest with a test that was developed by Jenrich (1970). An analysis of the measurement invariance of the latent construct across samples was then conducted using structural equation modeling (Amos 7).

## Study 2

For the qualitative research, we conducted in-depth semi-structured interviews with participants of Chinese descent in Montreal and in the "Randstad" of The Netherlands (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, and Utrecht). Here, the analytical focus was on identifying the discourse models used in constructing and accounting for hyphenated identities. In agreement with discourse theorists, the aim of the analysis was to be representative in terms of discourses that people use rather than in terms of the population. Many studies have shown that a limited number of interviews is sufficient to identify common discourse models and their use, because there are only a limited number of ways that people (can) account for their identity positions (see Wetherell, Taylor, & Yates, 2001).

Hence, the first author conducted and recorded 40 interviews (20 per research location) with the consent of participants. The first author is Canadian, of European descent, and fluent in English and French, with limited language skills in Mandarin and Dutch from having lived abroad. All interviews were conducted in English, except for two Canadian respondents who preferred to use French. Occasionally, greetings and small talk occurred in Mandarin or Dutch, mainly because respondents were curious about the interviewer's fluency. Participants were contacted through advertisements in universities, cultural organizations, and public places. They had either immigrated before the age of 10 years or were born in Canada or The Netherlands. The interviews were semi-structured and conversational on purpose in order to get a sense of the assertions and justifications provided upon talking about being a member of their ethnic and national group.

Although there is vast literature about approaches to discourse analysis (see Gee, 2005; Schiffrin, 1994; Wetherell et al., 2001), our approach focused on the discourse models or culturally available patterns of meaning in constructing social categories and organizing accounts (e.g., D'Andrade & Strauss, 1992; Gee; Holland et al., 1998). The analysis was conducted along a specific question of interest, namely which discourse models are used to construct and defend hyphenated identity positions in either national context.

We began the analysis by building a data file of all the sections related to self-definitions that were generated in response to the questions of the interviewer. We analyzed these sections in terms of discourse models and their implications for subject positions adopted. Data extracts will be presented to discuss the different models. The extracts were selected for being typical utterances of responses mentioned in similar manners by many participants. Working on the premise that the type of analysis to be carried out should inform the choice of transcription notation (Gee, 2005), we chose to transcribe for basic content rather than taking the considerably more detailed approach common in, for example, conversation analysis. Thus, details such as timing and intonation that would make the excerpts difficult to read have not been used. The transcribed interviews yielded a total of more than 200 pages of material to identify relevant discourse models.

## RESULTS

### Study 1

*Self-identification.* The first part of the statistical analysis consisted of performing a descriptive categorical data analysis to establish whether the distribution of self-identifications differed among the participants in Canada and The Netherlands. As Table 1 shows, responses to the self-identification question indicated that there are significant differences, with the Dutch-Chinese population leaning more

TABLE 1  
Percentages and Frequencies of Self-Identification

<i>Setting</i>	<i>Ethnic</i>	<i>Hyphenated</i>	<i>National</i>	<i>Marginal</i>	<i>Total</i>
The Netherlands	28%	48%	10%	14%	
	N 38	64	14	18	134
Canada	20%	55%	21%	4%	
	N 17	46	18	3	84

Pearson's  $\chi^2(3) = 11.30; p = .01$ .

toward ethnic self-definitions. The majority preferred the hyphenated identity position in both settings: 48% of participants in The Netherlands and 55% in Canada. The second most frequent identity is mainly ethnic in The Netherlands, followed by the marginal and finally the national one, whereas in Canada national and ethnic identities are equally adopted, with very few choosing the marginal position. Overall, 42% of the Chinese participants in The Netherlands do not identify with the Dutch national identity either because they identify more with their ethnic group or with neither identity, as compared with 24% in Canada.

*Self-identification and acculturation profiles.* Acculturation theorists argue for a correspondence between hyphenated identities and an integrated acculturation profile characterized by high levels of cultural maintenance and social contact with the majority group.<sup>2</sup> However, with midscale cutpoints for the social contact and cultural maintenance variables, both settings yielded a poor correspondence between self-identification and acculturation profiles. This is demonstrated by the percentages in parentheses in the diagonal of Table 2, namely a mere total of 39% of participants on the diagonal in Canada, and 47% in The Netherlands. As shown with bold numbers in Table 2, even while moving the cutpoints around to give as much credit to the theory as possible, only part of the samples ends up on the diagonal. This demonstrates that especially in The Netherlands the lack of fit is not the result of an arbitrary creation of binary variables.

With optimal cutpoints, the results remain equivalent in The Netherlands, but the percentage on the diagonal increases to 68% in Canada.<sup>3</sup> In The Netherlands,

<sup>2</sup>Hotelling's *T* squared test revealed that there are significant differences in the mean of these two variables in Canada and The Netherlands,  $F(2, 215) = 7.25, p < 0.001$ . For cultural maintenance and social contact respectively, The Netherlands had means of 5.76 and 5.29 compared with Canada's means of 5.60 and 4.44. In the samples studied, the means of minority cultural maintenance and social contact with the majority group are higher for the Chinese participants in The Netherlands.

<sup>3</sup>The two-way table that best fitted the prediction that all individuals identifying with hyphenated identities also display integrated acculturation profiles corresponded to the cutpoints at 2 on cultural maintenance, and 4 on social contact in the Dutch sample, and cutpoints at 3 on cultural maintenance and 2 on social contact in the Canadian sample.

TABLE 2  
Percentages of Self-Identification by Acculturation With Optimal Cutpoints  
(Midscale Cutpoints in Parentheses)

<i>Acculturation Profiles</i>	<i>Self-Identification</i>			
	<i>Ethnic</i>	<i>Hyphenated</i>	<i>National</i>	<i>Marginal</i>
<i>The Netherlands</i>				
Separation	<b>8%</b> (8%)	10% (8%)	1% (0)	5% (4%)
Integration	21% (21%)	<b>37%</b> (34%)	8% (7%)	7% (7%)
Assimilation	0 (0)	1% (4%)	<b>1%</b> (3%)	0 (0)
Marginalization	0 (0)	0 (2%)	0 (0)	<b>1%</b> (2%)
<i>Canada</i>				
Separation	<b>10%</b> (11%)	4% (25%)	2% (4%)	0 (0)
Integration	11% (10%)	<b>50%</b> (25%)	12% (9%)	2% (2%)
Assimilation	0 (0)	1% (2%)	<b>7%</b> (2%)	0 (0)
Marginalization	0 (0)	0 (2%)	0 (7%)	<b>1%</b> (1%)

10% of participants identifying with hyphenated identities were classified in a separated acculturation profile, whereas 21% were considered to have an integrated acculturation profile while they identified mainly with their ethnic group. The correspondence was higher in Canada, where all but 5% of the participants who identified with hyphenated identities were classified as integrated. In both contexts, however, a substantial number of participants classified as integrated end up with either mainly ethnic or mainly national identities, as opposed to the way these profiles are traditionally defined. Hence, the correspondence between self-identification and acculturation profiles is not self-evident and cannot be assumed, particularly in The Netherlands

*Hyphenated identities and latent measurement structures.* The first step in comparing the latent structure of acculturation attitudes across hyphenated samples consists of assessing whether there are differences to be explained between the two correlation structures. As Table 3 shows, upon examining the correlation structures of the four items for participants adopting hyphenated identities, differences become noticeable. Among the Dutch-Chinese, variables are highly correlated above .50 within national and ethnic dimensions, but present correlations below .20 between national and Chinese items. In the Canadian sample, nearly all variables except the cultural ones are more highly correlated. Differences between the correlation structures are a result of the importance of having Chinese friends in Canada, which is highly correlated with both having Canadian friends and adopting Canadian culture. Jenrich's (1970) test for the equality between correlation matrices of two samples demonstrated that we cannot reject equality (see Table 3), although this is most likely the result of the

TABLE 3  
Correlation Matrixes of Acculturation Dimension Among Hyphenated  
Cases (The Netherlands, Canada)

	<i>Chinese culture</i>	<i>Chinese friends</i>	<i>National culture</i>	<i>National friends</i>
Chinese culture		.49	.18	.23
Chinese friends	<b>.54</b>		.51	.44
National culture	<b>.17</b>	<b>.13</b>		.43
National friends	<b>.1</b>	<b>.18</b>	<b>.61</b>	

Jenrich's Test:  $\chi^2(6) = 10.5, p = .12$   
**N Dutch = 64, N Canadian = 45**

small sample sizes. We examined the measurement structures more closely using structural equation modeling.<sup>4</sup>

Attempting to fit a one-factor structure to the acculturation items of both settings indicated that we cannot reject a single factor structure in Canada: likelihood ratio,  $\chi^2(2) = 2.84, p = .24$ , but that a single factor structure is inadequate in The Netherlands: likelihood ratio,  $\chi^2(2) = 20.21, p < .001$ . The results suggest that in Canada, the items represent a single underlying concept of acculturation attitudes. In contrast, a two-factor structure differentiating between a national and an ethnic orientation fits better in The Netherlands. It is then necessary to constrain the Canadian model to a single factor in order to test for measurement invariance across settings. This is done by imposing a perfect correlation between the two factors in Canada only. When constraining loadings and intercepts across the two samples, the model fit is not significantly affected: likelihood ratio,  $\chi^2(6) = 7.931, p = .24$ . Consequently, measurement invariance across contexts cannot be rejected, contrary to expectations.

It is important to note that this test is not very powerful given the limited sample sizes. Although we cannot reject the hypothesis that the items measure the same concept in Canada and The Netherlands, differences appear between the dimensionality of acculturation attitudes. The four items are more highly correlated in the Canadian than in the Dutch sample. The Dutch data seems to represent a two-factor structure of separate ethnic and national orientations. Thus, our samples of hyphenated cases suggest that there may be differences between national contexts that are worth exploring further. Unlike Canadian-Chinese participants, Dutch-Chinese participants distinguish between national and ethnic groups in their acculturation attitudes. A closer look at the identity discourses in both contexts will provide more depth to these findings.

<sup>4</sup>The analysis meets the minimum sample-size-to-parameter ratio of 5 to 1, which is recommended by Cohen and Cohen (1983). Furthermore, the sample size is sufficient for examining the fit of this relatively simple measurement model (Kline, 2005).

## Study 2

*Discourse models of hyphenated identities.* In both national contexts, participants offered a variety of hyphenated terms to describe themselves. The most common terms suggested in Canada were *Canadian-born Chinese*, *Chinese-Canadian*, and *Canadian-Chinese*, whereas in The Netherlands, *Chinese-Dutch* and *Dutch-Chinese* appeared in participants' talk. A notable difference between the two contexts is the frequencies of spontaneous reference to hyphenated identities. All participants in Canada—except three who rejected categorization—mentioned hyphenated identities when discussing their belonging to various groups. In The Netherlands, only half of the participants used such categorization, and they often did so only after being asked about hyphenated labels by the interviewer. Spontaneous references to hyphenated labels were thus more common and prevalent in the Canadian context.

In both contexts, it was clear that identities were normatively accountable, not only in the context of the interview, which explicitly questioned belonging, but also in the everyday interactions being reported. As the following two participants' quotes demonstrate, questions about one's origin entail complicated answers about one's place of birth, citizenship, ethnic background, and/or feelings of belonging:

*Respondent 11 in Canada:*

Interviewer: When people ask you, "Where are you from?" what do you usually say?

Respondent: Where I'm from, well, I was born in Montreal, and my parents are from China.

Interviewer: Do you usually say Canada?

Respondent: I usually say, well, I have to explain a little bit. They suppose that obviously you're from China, so then I claim my status and say I'm Canadian, and I was born here and all that.

*Respondent 16 in The Netherlands:*

Interviewer: When someone asks you where you're from, what do you usually answer?

Respondent: I say I'm Dutch, because I'm Dutch.

Interviewer: Do they usually ask more questions?

Respondent: Of course they do. Well, you don't look Dutch, so where are your parents from? Then I tell them that they're Chinese.

For the second-generation Chinese in Canada and The Netherlands, an introductory question about where someone is from entails an accountable positioning, and the answer can trigger additional questions. The two extracts show that there is a need "to explain a little bit" in Canada, and that in The Netherlands, "of course" people ask more questions because the participant "does not look Dutch." The in-

terviews clearly indicate that more questions and explanations were expected from the Chinese living in The Netherlands than those of Canada.

Thus, self-identification with hyphenated identities may be frequent, as Table 1 shows, but these positions are also normatively accountable. Hyphenated identities are relational in the sense that they are adopted and defined in relation to possible counterpositions. We examined the relational meanings of hyphenated identities and the discourses used to construct such meanings. Figure 1 represents a summary of the main categories of comparison and the concomitant discourse models that were used by the participants in defining their hyphenated identities.

*Hyphenated identities in Canada.* A hyphenated identity combining Chinese and Canadian identities includes at least a discourse justifying identification (partly) as Chinese. The discourse models used to this end were “being” and “feeling” Chinese (Verkuyten & de Wolf, 2002). The first relates to the argument of being born to parents who are ethnically Chinese and therefore “looking” Chinese, and the second of being raised and socialized in a Chinese family. The subsequent extract is an example of the former.

*Respondent 3 in Canada:*

Interviewer: How much do you identify with Chinese people living in China?

Respondent: I think that we’re very different because in China you’re Chinese, that’s it. When you live here, you have other influences and other people not only Canadians but from other cultures, so if it’s kind of, I’m a mix of everything, but my blood I’m just Chinese.

Being Chinese involves a claim to Chinese ancestry. The participants argued that this is a legitimate reason for belonging as Chinese. Having Chinese blood, or the fact that one’s blood is “just Chinese” was presented as a common ground. Being socialized in a Chinese environment resulting in thinking and feeling Chinese was another discourse model used to argue for a Chinese identity.

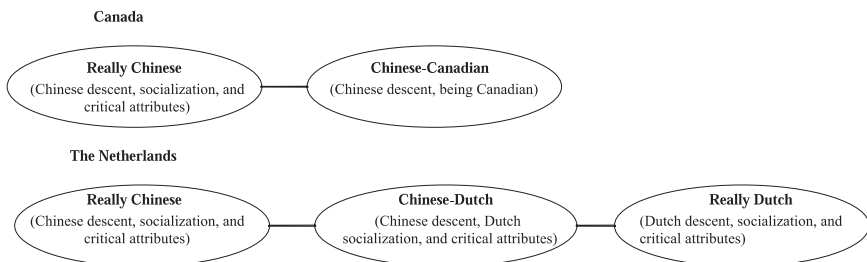


FIGURE 1 Discourses in a context of relational identification.



The extract also shows that a contrast is made with Chinese people in China who are only Chinese. Participants constructed Canadian-Chinese hyphenated identities in comparison to what they themselves labeled as “real” Chinese or “Chinese-Chinese.” Claiming a subject position requires discursive work, although some positions require more work than do others. Certain critical attributes of acting Chinese may not be mastered by the second-generation Chinese growing up in Canada. Hence, despite claiming Chinese ancestry (“being Chinese”) and having maintained aspects of their Chinese upbringing (“feeling Chinese”), most participants argued that they were not fully able or did not fulfill the requirements to function easily in Chinese circles (“doing Chinese”).

*Respondent 1 in Canada:*

Interviewer: Are you proud to be Chinese?

Respondent: You know, I actually wish I was more Chinese than I am. Cause I feel like I’m missing something from my culture. I dunno. I’m kind of ashamed that I can’t speak [Chinese] and I’m not very in tune with my friends sometimes. [...]

Interviewer: Is it important for you to be accepted by the Chinese community?

Respondent: Oh, no! (laughs). Because I can’t speak, and once they find that out, then they’re like, “No, you’re not really Chinese.” I’ve gotten that a lot.

Language proficiency and Chinese literacy are important shortcomings that participants discussed, from not being able to carry on a conversation to not being able to understand the news as the “real” Chinese would. Participants thus constructed another subject position for themselves, that of the Chinese living overseas who can claim to be and feel Chinese, but who are not Chinese “enough,” or not “really” Chinese because they lack critical attributes of Chinese culture and therefore are not fully able to “do” Chinese.

One could expect that the hyphenated position in Canada be created also in contrast to Canadians who do not possess a Chinese background. On the contrary, discourses about a shared descent are all but absent from what being Canadian entails. In the subsequent extracts, two participants depicted the Canadian identity as that of being a member of an immigrant nation in which birthplace and cultural values, rather than ancestry and descent, are reasons for inclusion:

*Respondent 12 in Canada:*

Interviewer: How important is it to be accepted as Canadian?

Respondent: Umm, I never thought of that before. I feel it’s important to be accepted in general, so I don’t want to feel hostility anywhere regardless of whether I look Chinese or I don’t look Chinese. But I think it’s important for me, since I consider myself Canadian, because of my values and because I was born here, I feel like I should have every other right and nonjudgment that any other person born here should have whether they be White, Black, or wherever their ancestors came from.

*Respondent 7 in Canada:*

Interviewer: So would you say that questions about your ethnic or national identity are sensitive, or do you usually appreciate people's interest?

Respondent: As long as they don't ask, like, I guess as long as it is sort of... you know, "Oh, you don't look Canadian," that would piss me off. But an honest question, like, ok "You're from Toronto, was your family from China?" I wouldn't mind that. I guess not looking Canadian, that would definitely bug me... What was the question?

Interviewer: What do you answer if they say things like that?

Respondent: I would just tell them that you don't have to look a certain way to be Canadian. I mean just look around and you see all kinds of people, different colors, different cultures, and we're all Canadian.

Although Caucasians may represent the stereotypical image of a Canadian, belonging in Canada as a result of ancestry was not considered a valid argument, whether Canadians are of European or Asian descent. All ancestors came from different lands, and the aforementioned participants emphasized that ethnicity, then, does not represent an acceptable ground for exclusion and that being born and living in Canada is sufficient to be considered Canadian. In this way, being Canadian remains an accessible discourse model to justify belonging as a Canadian, whatever the ethnicity of respondents.

In sum, participants constructed being Chinese-Canadian as a position that differed from being solely or "really" Chinese, and that incorporated discourses about being both Chinese and Canadian, the latter defined as being born and/or living in Canada regardless of ethnicity.

*Hyphenated identities in The Netherlands.* Similarly to the hyphenated identity in a Canadian context, participants constructed Dutch-Chinese identity in contrast with the "real" Chinese who possess critical attributes, in the case of the subsequent extract, Chinese literacy:

*Respondent 2 in The Netherlands:*

Interviewer: Do you sometimes use terms like "Dutch-Chinese" or "Chinese-Dutch" to describe yourself?

Respondent: Yeah, I usually say that I'm Dutch-Chinese. I don't consider myself like a real Chinese because I don't even know how to write or read Chinese. And Dutch is my first language.

As in previous extracts, this one shows that self-positioning can be achieved by enumerating attributes that are critical to claiming a Chinese identity, and then admitting to not possessing them, thus adopting a position away from the one just defined.

Yet again, distancing oneself from being a "real" Chinese is not sufficient to create a hyphenated identity, because some elements of membership in both the ethnic

and national groups must be maintained. Hence, in The Netherlands the biological model that justifies being Chinese also surfaced as an undeniable argument to belong as Chinese, albeit not completely like the “real” Chinese. Participants emphasized that no matter where one is born, having Chinese blood makes you Chinese.

In addition, a discourse about socialization and having learned to think and act as Chinese people was used. Such a discourse model offers the possibility of claiming a multicultural identity: a hyphenated position characterized by its cultural mixture. The following extract is an example:

*Respondent 8 in The Netherlands:*

Interviewer: How do you feel about the possibility of being both Dutch and Chinese?

Respondent: Yeah, I think that I’m 50% Dutch and 50% Chinese, because I’ve got elements of both. In my thinking, I have a lot of Western thoughts. I think like a Westerner. But also I know how Chinese people act and why they do certain things.

Interviewer: Do you identify with Chinese people living in The Netherlands?

Respondent: Yeah, sure. I think that if you grew up in Holland as a Chinese, then you’re not really 100% Chinese and not really 100% Dutch, but always in the middle.

In contrast to Canada, however, the hyphenated position in The Netherlands was also constructed in opposition to the “real” Dutch, involving a claim to shared ancestry with the Dutch as *a* people (Figure 1). Being Dutch, unlike feeling and doing Dutch, is all but inaccessible to individuals of Chinese descent if it involves a claim to Dutch blood and ancestry. In the following extract, the Chinese-Dutch participant explains that the Dutch define being “really” Dutch as having ethnically Dutch parents, in which case he or she does not qualify as Dutch:

*Respondent 4 in The Netherlands:*

Interviewer: Do you feel people accept you as Dutch though?

Researcher: They mostly see me as Chinese, not as Dutch, you know. When they talk about being Dutch, they mean that your parents have to be also Dutch. They call me Chinese, and for them I am not Dutch. It’s more about what you really are, your blood, and where your parents are from.

This exclusionary ethnic-national understanding makes discourses about early socialization and the possession of critical attributes particularly significant to justify national identification in the Dutch context. The following participant enumerates critical attributes justifying belonging to the Dutch context, such as birthplace, education, and language:

*Respondent 5 in The Netherlands:*

Interviewer: A difficult question, what makes you Dutch?

Respondent: That I was born here, the Dutch language, education. I know how to speak Dutch. I know things about Holland and places. I live here.

Interviewer: Do you think that this would not be enough for people to say that you are Dutch?

Respondent: I can imagine that some people wouldn't agree with me if I said I'm Dutch, because when they ask where are you from they mean, where are your parents from, or what is your culture? And then I say Dutch, I'm Dutch. I imagine that they wouldn't agree with me.

Interviewer: Does it happen?

Respondent: Yeah, I've had this conversation but only with friends, when they are asking the questions... if I feel Dutch. If I say that I'm Dutch... Is it enough to have the Dutch nationality or do you have to be really Dutch, like with Dutch blood? So, but mostly they agree with me that when people say, "Where you're from?" you say you're Chinese because you have Chinese parents.

This extract shows the three different discourse models or ways of talking about identity: "being," "feeling," and "doing." All three offer an account for self-definitions and can be used in different ways and in opposition to each other. The extract is a clear example of some of the dilemmas that minority group members face in claiming a particular sense of identity. For example, in giving a particular self-definition, this participant orients himself to these three possible interpretations. A claim to feeling Dutch has to be supported by being able to "do" and know Dutch language and culture, and has to deal with the facts of ancestry and physical appearance that defines him as Chinese.

Despite that most participants identify along hyphenated identities, they report instances of the majority group and of co-ethnics repositioning them with ethnic labels. As shown in the previous extract from the interview with Respondent 5 in The Netherlands, Dutch-Chinese is a self-assigned label that is not always accepted by the Dutch. The participant describes an attempt to assess what conditions precede rightful labeling as Dutch and concludes that having Chinese parents precludes being "really" Dutch, vis-à-vis Dutch blood. Notice also the equivalence made by the participant between ethnicity and culture; a discourse absent from the Canadian setting. Labeling oneself as Dutch triggers a repositioning as Chinese on the basis of physical appearance. The deterministic component of Dutch descent remains an inaccessible argument for the second-generation Chinese who wish to be also recognized as Dutch. This limits the availability of discourses for participants adopting a hyphenated identity in The Netherlands.

## DISCUSSION

Research on acculturation and immigrant identity tends to assume a close correspondence between integration and hyphenated identities. In the present study, we used a mixed-methods approach to examine hyphenated identities among the second-generation Chinese of Canada and The Netherlands. We tested whether in

both national contexts, a hyphenated identity implies an integrated acculturation profile, and then we used a complementary discursive analysis to explore how participants accounted for a hyphenated self-definition.

With the first approach, we examined hyphenated identities in terms of the concordance with acculturation profiles, and as a comparison of the latent structure of acculturation attitudes among hyphenated cases. It appeared that despite some differences in self-identification, hyphenated identities represent the most frequent identity option among the sampled second-generation Chinese of Canada and The Netherlands. Further, there was some correspondence between hyphenated identities and integrated acculturation profiles in Canada. However, as previous European studies have found (Hutnik, 1991; Snauwaert et al., 2003; Verkuyten & Kwa, 1996), in The Netherlands acculturation attitudes did not strongly relate to self-identification. Structural equation modeling provided further evidence to suggest this lack of fit. It revealed that despite reasonable measurement invariance, acculturation attitudes seem to differ across contexts for hyphenated cases. Whereas in Canada, they represent a single concept, in The Netherlands more distinctions remained regarding acculturation attitudes towards ethnic or national groups, even among those who identify with both groups.

Overall, the results of the statistical analysis suggest that hyphenated identities should not simply be equated with integrated acculturation profiles as acculturation theorists sometimes suggest (e.g., Berry 2002, 2005), especially when validating the theory beyond traditional immigration countries (Rudmin, 2006). As researchers in previous studies have found (e.g., Phinney et al., 2006), national and ethnic identities may be defined in incompatible ways in European countries. Structural equation modeling constitutes preliminary evidence that respondents who identify as both Dutch and Chinese might still differentiate between their ethnic and national group in their acculturation attitudes. This suggests that in The Netherlands, acculturation and identification could remain conceptually different, insofar as the former represents a process of cultural change and the latter entails processes of group identification. As Hutnik (1991) and Snauwaert et al. (2003) have argued, acculturation attitudes do not necessarily translate into self-identification, because individuals may want or be expected to adopt the culture and lifestyle of the majority group, and yet identify mainly with their ethnic group.

Our second approach added to the quantitative findings by providing further understanding of hyphenated identities in the Canadian and Dutch contexts. This study was based on the idea that identities should also be studied as accountable subject positions negotiated in context. Identity can be seen as a sense of self, raising questions about inner thoughts and feelings, but it can also be seen as a socially situated position, which raises the issue of recognition and being recognized. Hyphenation, in any real sense, implies the construction and claim of a desired subject position in social interactions. However, national and cultural patterns limit and

shape the available discourse models with which people can manage their hyphenated identities.

The findings indicate that hyphenated identities are socially accountable and relational. Hyphenated self-definitions are not self-evident, but are often complicated to adopt. Questions are asked and explanations are given, making hyphenated identities social accomplishments that are sensitive to potential criticisms and justifications. Hyphenated identities are defined in relation with other categories created by participants, such as “real” Chinese or “real” Dutch. In both national settings, participants made their claim to a Chinese identity with biological justifications, but distanced themselves from an all-Chinese identity by emphasizing their shortcomings in terms of acting Chinese. Accounts were accomplished by stressing the significance of descent and appearance, the importance of early socialization and the possession or nonpossession of attributes formulated as critical for Chinese and Dutch identities. These discourse models of “being,” “feeling,” and “doing” Chinese and Dutch/Canadian, all offer an account for hyphenated self-definitions, but they can also be used to criticize these definitions (see also Verkuyten & de Wolf, 2002).

In both national contexts, the participants made a contrast with “real” Chinese, mainly in terms of not being able to “do” Chinese such as speaking Chinese languages. Important differences emerged in the justifications involving the “being” component of the national identities under study, which were strongly related to their immigration histories. When being Dutch is defined ethnically, belonging as Dutch citizens for individuals of Chinese descent has to be asserted with other arguments, such as early socialization and the possession of critical attributes. In Canada, unlike what had been found by scholars in the United States (e.g., Kibria, 2000; Louie 2004; Tuan, 1999), being Canadian is dissociated from ethnicity and supported by norms of cultural diversity, making the civic discourse of being Canadian supportive of hyphenated identity positions. In sum, hyphenated identities take on different meanings in relation to national self-understandings and differ between Canada and The Netherlands.

By adopting a mixed-methods approach, our research has tried to make a contribution to a cross-cultural understanding of hyphenated identities and acculturation. In doing so, we tried to produce a more comprehensive assessment of differences and similarities in meanings between hyphenated identities in a European country and an immigration country. However, the approach taken raises epistemological and methodological questions. These questions are discussed extensively in the literature (e.g., Fay, 1996; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004) and elsewhere, we have addressed these in relation to ethnic identity (see Verkuyten, 2005).

It will be clear that we do not advocate the incompatibility thesis (Howe, 1988), which posits that quantitative and qualitative approaches should not be mixed. We consider both approaches important and useful, for one thing because they allow

us to address different questions. Hyphenated identities and acculturation can be examined in terms of self-understandings and attitudes. These inner realities are psychologically important and inform interpretations and behavior. For example, different studies have shown that the Moreno question, used in this research, is a reliable indicator of people's self-understanding that predicts different outcomes, such as ethnic behaviors (e.g., Phalet et al., 2000; Verkuyten & Kwa, 1996). Psychological research has produced valuable findings on acculturation and identity, and it is clearly important to understand the cognitive and emotional correlates of cultural change and adaptation.

This type of research, however, does not tell us much about how people actually define and negotiate their identity. In a questionnaire, people can indicate that they feel Chinese-Dutch, but this does not mean that the position is easy to take up in everyday life or that its meaning is self-evident. The meaning of particular identities can depend on the categories of contrast. Being Chinese-Canadian was mainly defined by the participants in relation to what they labeled as "real" Chinese, whereas the position of Chinese-Dutch was also defined in relation to "real" Dutch. Hyphenated identities do not only refer to the inner life but are also accountable subject positions. In everyday life, people use discourse models and provide accounts that define particular definitions of themselves and others. Hence, it is important to examine the outward accomplishment of identities in social life and not to treat people's reactions and utterances solely as reflections of mental states.

Our research is not without limitations. For example, a limited number of participants was available and the nationality and ethnicity of the interviewer might have played a role in the interviews. Furthermore, we measured some constructs with relatively few items, and the results need to be replicated with larger and systematically matched representative samples across contexts. In addition, it could be argued that the Moreno question has a major disadvantage because it situates the two identities at opposite poles of a single dimension. The result is that a hyphenated identity implies that the strengths of the two group identifications are more or less equal. Thus, someone with a very strong national identification combined with a somewhat strong ethnic identification will not fall in the hyphenated identity category. An alternative methodological approach is to assess the two-group identifications independently and to consider their interactive function as indicative of a hyphenated identity. However, it is doubtful that such a model would fully capture the rich phenomenology and social accountability of hyphenated identities. Therefore, we used a direct measure strategy rather than the measurement of the two-group identifications.

In conclusion, we have tried to show that hyphenated identities can be examined in different ways and in relation to different national contexts. Future studies could examine people of Chinese origin in other countries and could consider first- and third-generation immigrants as well. Future studies could also examine other minority groups and other aspects of acculturation.



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